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CONTENTS

W. ALLEN, JR.: Teaching the Classics in Translation	105
P. W. BLACKFORD: A Project in Neo-Latin Lexicography (1400-1600) . . .	117
REVIEWS	118
C W. Blegen, J. L. Caskey, M. Rawson, <i>Troy, III</i> (Shoe); R. R. Bolgar, <i>The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries</i> (Stahl).	
C. A. A. S.: Spring Meeting, Pittsburgh, April 29-30, 1955: Addendum . .	119
Books Received	120

TEACHING THE CLASSICS IN TRANSLATION

I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Problem

No persistent reader of classical periodicals, and even of some non-classical periodicals, can have failed to notice the articles on courses in classical literature in English translation. Of late the tenor of such articles has in general been favorable, with occasionally an elegiac note for the good old days.

It is idle to concern ourselves further with the question of the desirability of such courses. Their value has been demonstrated and it is pointless for us to repine. Accordingly, the present paper is concerned only with the methods of teaching such courses. It is striking to observe the agility with which many writers avoid saying anything specific in print about their manner of teaching them, although practical assistance is exactly what all of us require, a need which Lane Cooper tried long ago to meet with regard to just one course in his article, "English Translations of Greek and Latin Classics," *CW* 11 (1917-18) 49-52. Another exception is the helpful and interesting article by B. N. Schilling, "Thus Fought the Greeks," *A. A. U. P. Bulletin* 38 (1952-53) 539-558. This paper, to our shame, is by a professor of English, who essentially teaches classical literature as if it were English literature—which it is not. I think that we can do better. Classical literature is our principal

interest, and we have technical and specialized training to supply us with deeper and more precise interpretations.

Perhaps I should begin, like an ancient historian, by stating my qualifications. I have taught such courses in three universities both in the regular academic year and in summer session, and in a fourth university in just a summer session. It is my impression that somewhere between a third and a half of all the classes I have taught have been of this type. As will become clear as we proceed, these classes have been in courses of about every possible variety; and they have been taught, with appropriate adjustment of content and difficulty, to undergraduates, to upperclassmen, and to graduate students. My detailed remarks, however, will be confined to some of the more recent courses, which incidentally have all been electives. The reader will readily observe what further combinations are possible and suitable for his particular needs. (N. B.: I alone am responsible for the views expressed in this article; these views are not to be construed as necessarily the opinions of past or present colleagues or departments.)

One of the reasons for writing this paper is that I have much to learn, and I hope that my boldness will induce equal audacity on the part of colleagues throughout the country so that we may profit from each other's experience and suggestions. Another reason for writing this

paper is that—alas!—many classicists are the sole representatives of their breed in their institutions, and I should not be surprised if some of the younger teachers might welcome advice and assistance. I was myself fortunate in that in the first two institutions in which I taught these courses I was only one of several teachers who had sections of very large courses. We profited immeasurably from regular meetings which kept us approximately together in our instruction, which produced a highly advantageous pooling of ideas, and which provided us with the able guidance of a senior man who had a record of successful teaching in these courses. And not the least benefit was the assistance we could furnish each other in the always troublesome problem of making up examinations.

Examinations

Examinations are a matter which deserves the most careful attention, especially as frequent examinations are desirable in all these courses both for purposes of review and to inform the teacher of the progress of the class. Two errors easy to fall into are the excessive use of specific questions, such as identification of characters or personages, and the tendency to give essay questions so broad that they are not only difficult to evaluate but also beyond the student's ability to write. I have found it satisfactory to give a good deal of choice among some questions while other questions have to be answered by all students. Among the latter are of course the precise questions of fact, definition, and identification, while the former are the broader questions of interpretation.

Whenever possible, I like to give in advance some material which the students can prepare for the examination; then a selection of items from this material can serve as one question. In dealing with the ancient historians, for instance, I give a list of about twenty who cannot be treated in class, but about whom it is worth the student's while to learn some essential information. Or in the case of Roman civilization, it is possible to have the students learn about the orders of architecture, etc., from the buildings on their own campus; for it is the rare U. S. campus which will not illustrate the architecture of all ages. One device I have not tried is to give the class a list of questions, of which several will comprise the final examination; actually this is a better device than one might think because often there are only just so many appropriate questions on a given topic.

One useful method of examination I owe to a colleague, for I frankly pilfer from every source any ideas which will help in the teaching. Well in advance of the final examination in the course in Greek drama I pass out mimeographed pages of 137 important passages from the plays we have read. These function as a useful means of review since, in order to answer the set questions about them, the student must know the meaning and substance of the plays. The set questions are: (1) from which play the quotation is taken; (2) who speaks it and (3) under what circumstances; and (4) what general or universal idea the passage is designed to express, or what idea the quotation shows was active in Greek thinking at that time, or in what way the individual passage is significant dramatic-

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ally. A selection of these 137 passages can form a reasonable portion of the final examination.

Use of Slides

It is legitimate to show slides in all the courses, with more in the civilization classes, naturally. But in all it is advisable to give some feeling for the countryside and the cities. I first began this practice when I found that some students thought that Greece is a flat country! And in many places in the U. S. it is advisable to show the students the blue Aegean as well as the monuments of Rome, for they are likely never to have seen salt water.

Even in a course in Greek drama the first day of classes is well spent in showing slides, for by them it is possible to give a sketchy summary of history and literature down to fifth-century Athens by way of Creté, Troy, Mycenae, Delphi, and Corinth. And a class in the *Aeneid* can better appreciate the epic of Rome if it has seen the Servian Wall, the Forum Romanum, the Palatine Hill, the Forum of Julius, and the Forum of Augustus, while it learns that the Colosseum is neither the first nor the only building in Rome.

We are not trying to encroach upon the preserves of archaeology, we are merely trying to illustrate the literature and its background. The slides should, if at all possible, be in color, since our purpose here is to be lifelike. In case the reader has never shown slides, he might regard 25 slides as the maximum to be shown in 50 minutes. Each picture will need some comment if it is to be more than a blur of color. The teacher will easily brush up on his facts by the use of guidebooks and handbooks. For Rome he will still find use for S. B. Platner, *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* (2d ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1911), to which he can now add D. M. Robathan, *The Monuments of Ancient Rome* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1950). For Athens he can begin with I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens: Its Topography and Monuments* (London 1953). Then he will want to read in more detail after these, for he will be driven by students who will want to know just where certain events occurred.¹

1. For what my experience may be worth, I can mention the following sources for 2" x 2" color slides; there are of course others with which I have not had contact. Some very pretty slides, which are also most inexpensive, can be obtained from the National Picture Slide Co., 134 West 32nd St., N. Y. C. Many of them are rather of a

Need of Experimentation

Some courses, often for no explicable reason, will turn out to be unsatisfactory. In that event some consolation may be derived from the fact that others have had similar experiences. The only thing to do is to make a different selection of material and to try a different arrangement.

One of the major characteristics of these courses is their demand for constant experimentation; for the teacher will never feel certain that he is doing as well as he should in presenting his subject as clearly and as fully as possible. The great reason for this is that he will have to realize that what the students see in the material they will see largely through the teacher's presentation, while the teacher cannot rely so much on their seeing some things for themselves, as students often do in the case of literature in the original language. I make it a rule to rewrite my notes for these courses as often as possible; in that way it is possible to incorporate what I have learned recently, and there is a consequent gain in freshness of tone. If anyone is appalled by the prospect of such labor, I should be the first to agree with him; for my own schedules also include classes in the original at various levels as well as the direction of theses and dissertations. For that reason if for no other, it is helpful to take to class at least outline notes for the intended lecture.

A further factor which makes constant experimentation desirable is that the generations of college students change so rapidly in age and interests these days. A course which was suitable for World War II veterans is not necessarily suitable for younger students. Classical literature can boast so many great authors that

tourist nature, and it is not necessary always to believe the identifications printed on some of them. I can also recommend strongly the slides sold by Laura B. Voelkel, Box 1221-College Station, Fredericksburg, Virginia (mostly Greek); William M. Seaman, Department of Foreign Languages, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich. (mostly Roman and Pompeian); Morris Rosenblum, 959 Carroll St., Brooklyn 25, N. Y. (notable for slides pertinent to Caesarian topography in Gaul); Saul S. Weinberg, 211 Jesse Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. (chiefly for Greece and Sicily). Everyone must search such lists for the unusual items which will help him, as pictures of the Trojan plain (Weinberg), of the Roman theater at Orange (Rosenblum), of the insula beside the Victor Emmanuel monument (Seaman), of the coin showing Aeneas with Anchises and the Palladium (Voelkel).

we can maintain the quality of the courses while making minor adjustments in the content.

Some courses also do not suit the individual teacher's own tastes. I should not, for instance, recommend a course in ancient historians for a teacher not interested in history, nor a course in philosophers for a teacher who does not care much for philosophy. Too much depends on the enthusiasm of the teacher for him to risk teaching a field outside his own interests. This is a much more important consideration in teaching courses in translation than in teaching courses in the original; for the original the interest in the language is often enough for the teacher, whereas in some areas his enthusiasm may be insufficient when the emphasis has to be upon the subject matter.

It is also to be observed that courses which are highly successful in one institution will be failures in another, and for no accountable reason. If it is possible, one of the best ideas is to institute courses which can be given in conjunction with, or at least favored by, departments such as those of English and history, a device mentioned by D. H. Abel in "Today's Aeneases, II," *CB* 30 (1953-54) 40 f. Most humanistic departments will prove to be coöperative because they have learned that ultimately their departments are only as strong as the classics.

Types of Courses

Probably the best courses to begin with are surveys of Greek literature in translation and Latin literature in translation. Courses in Greek drama are very popular just now, and they have proved satisfactory in every way. I suspect that their popularity over other courses partakes of the nature of a vogue; for I see no reason why the material, excellent though it is, should prove intrinsically more interesting and rewarding than the literature in the other courses. I mention this fact only because the teacher must be prepared for slight increases or decreases in popularity of particular courses from time to time.

Some courses which I very much enjoy call for a certain amount of folly on the part of the one undertaking to teach them because they mean that he is willing to try to work simultaneously with larger amounts of literature than used to be customary. I refer to courses which combine works of Greek and Latin literature, a task which might well horrify the old-fashioned specialist in one language or the other, but a task which is infinitely rewarding for the

teacher because he can observe the enforced increase in his own breadth of knowledge. Such courses as Greek and Latin epic, or Greek and Roman historians, with all the great demands they make upon the teacher, are most satisfactory, particularly when the teacher does not allow himself to become partisan for one language or the other. As a practical consideration I might mention that such courses ideally suit cross-listing with the Department of Comparative Literature.

Courses in Greek or Roman civilization are fine, too, and the emphasis can be placed upon the individual teacher's interests. If there is no Ancient History taught in an institution, it is possible to make up a course which combines literature with history, including some archaeology if there are no specific courses in that subject. A course in Greek civilization is likely to have to stress some readings in Greek literature, whereas Roman civilization is likely to demand a little more history, with fine opportunities for the discussion of public and private life.

Original and Translation

In all my courses I lecture closely against the text, and try to produce discussion from it, just as I would in a course in the original. I believe strongly in constant reference to exact passages at which the students look in class; it is for this reason that the instructor must be very sure of the language of the original at all times. There is always the problem of being careful to treat the work in detail and also in its broad significance, but the greater danger is to do the latter to the detriment of the former. Particularly in reading authors who contain masses of proper names, it is necessary to show the important ones to the class and to indicate the devices by which the authors emphasized those names.

One ticklish question is the relationship of the translation to the original text. The teacher should reread the translation every time, and the original as often as he can. He may not have the leisure to reread the original every time, for the course will usually proceed at a very rapid rate. He can, however, reread at least a portion every time, while he will keep the texts at hand for reference whenever the English is not clear.

The class will be curious as to what the original says. It is wise to take the Greek or Latin text to class often, but without shaking

the students' confidence in the translation. Students like to have expounded to them a few of the famous verses in the *Aeneid*, for example, since some of them know enough Latin to follow them. Even a class which knows no Latin can be made to understand Catullus 5 since it contains so much repetition of easy words; and the students in civilization will enjoy as much as literary students the fact that the poem is based on the Roman abacus, as elucidated by H. L. Levy, "Catullus, 5, 7-11 and the Abacus," *AJP* 62 (1941) 222-224. This technique creates a good campus atmosphere for the study of the original; it also makes it possible to explain to the students, in a way they can understand, the reasons for reading the material in the original, a topic which probably no one has ever before brought intelligibly to their notice.

The Role of the Teacher

While the class will be interested by the original, the teacher must remember that the students are reading the literature in translation and will properly be offended if the teacher takes the mistaken attitude that he is teaching a second-rate course. There is some compensation for the lack of reading in the original to be derived from the more extensive reading to be done by the students who read only translations.

The student in the translation course will often be taking only that single course in classics and hence will be looking for a broad impression of the whole sweep of at least one phase of antiquity. The teacher will therefore be well advised to consider exactly what his aims are in these courses and in what ways these aims differ from those in courses in the original. It is just as well that he should have these ideas clearly in mind and not hesitate to mention them to his classes when opportunity arises. Such an approach will allow him to encourage students who decide, after a course in translation, to take up the study of the original, a by no means unusual occurrence. At the same time he will understand his own aims in the course; for it is much more difficult to be certain of attaining a desired result within a single course.

The teacher will have to work harder than ever before to prepare these courses, and then will have to continue strenuous efforts. There are very good reasons for this vast expenditure of labor. Students regard the instructor as an

encyclopedia of classical lore, and he will be wise not to disappoint them too often; he will have to reconcile himself to reading widely outside his usual range of interests. Then, too, since many of the students will have less previous knowledge of antiquity than even elementary students of Greek and Latin, this lack must be compensated for by the instructor's ability to speak from an unusual fullness of knowledge. A certain amount of the success of these courses depends upon the sheer expenditure of professional energy in advance preparation and in class presentation. The students are likely to be mature, and will be anxious to ask mature questions of perhaps the first professional classicist they have ever met up with. To junior members of faculties I should recommend the vigorous teaching principles described by A. F. Johnson, "Madness in Your Methods Courses," *CO* 31 (1953-54) 77 f.

II. A SURVEY OF GREEK (OR LATIN) LITERATURE *General*

The following remarks on a survey of Greek literature will serve, *mutatis mutandis*, also for a course in Latin literature in translation. It should further be noted that I do not try to make similar comments in regard to all the courses individually when it is enough that such comments should be made only in connection with the courses for which they are most appropriate.

While most college administrations are inclined to be favorable towards embarking first upon a survey course of some sort, surveys by their nature are a large effort for the instructor because of the variety of knowledge which they demand. The instructor undertaking such a course should take from my remarks on more specialized courses what advice he can employ for the individual sections of this general course.

I am naturally most familiar with the highly teachable revision by P. H. Epps of the [G.] Howe and [G. A.] Harrer, *Greek Literature in Translation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948). There are other books of selections of

C. A. A. S.
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(See p. 119)

course of which the most recent is probably the two-volume set by P. MacKendrick and H. M. Howe, one volume for Greek and one for Latin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), which seem to me to be thoroughly usable. It is almost imperative to buy in addition a paperback *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, for it is usually necessary to read in greater detail in one epic or the other. This necessity arises from the fact that all books of selections have weaknesses in the eyes of the individual instructor, who will have to be prepared to overcome them, especially in the matter of inadequate selections in some authors.

Division of Material

It is well to open the course with one or two historical lectures, for most teachers find it difficult to teach literature as if it existed in an historical and cultural vacuum. A brief text in ancient history could be used in some institutions, possibly combined with full texts of some authors rather than with a book of selections from many authors.

The survey of Greek literature divides readily into about five equal parts: epic, history, drama, philosophy and oratory, and "other" (lyric, Alexandrian, scientific). It is the classification "other" which will try your soul, especially since it includes lyric. Lyric poetry (including some Pindar) is naturally difficult to expound. I arbitrarily insert it before the historians, just to preserve the chronology of literary and historical development.

As the years go by, you will find yourself reducing the length of the assignments somewhat, in an effort to give greater emphasis to what is read. Never hesitate to give emphasis to any area of your own particular interest and competence; students will benefit by your enthusiasm and knowledge so long as you do not neglect other areas overmuch. Students do like to feel that they have completed the *whole* course. The arrangement of assignments demands careful planning at the beginning of the term, with a daily resolution not to digress.

The variety of material in this course makes it helpful to give a number of hour or half-hour tests. I like four half-hour tests which can be given after each of four of the five divisions of the course. The other 20 minutes of the 50-minute period can be profitably used for a small group of slides pertinent to the subject just completed or to the material to follow. For the final examination, since the students will pre-

sumably have reviewed in detail for the individual tests, it is better to make a selection of the items read and to hold the students responsible for only those on the final examination, at least so far as questions of detail are concerned. The final examination can include a sort of half-hour test on the fifth division of the course.

Class Procedure

Now for a few hints as to how to teach the course. Expound the text, questioning members of the class copiously. They will remember easily the things they talk about, and they will often surprise you by egregious misunderstandings of what seems to us painfully clear. No two classes will be puzzled by the same points. Explain *essential* small items, as the fact that in the plays the stage directions are the translators'. Keep your lecture notes flexible because the students want to know *now* the answers to the questions they ask now.

It is a good idea to have the students buy, or for you to have available for their use, some sort of reference book, as Harvey's *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford 1946). This strategy will save many questions about minutiae, and the students can even read the articles on such topics as "Oratory". Make sure the class knows the location of other reference books in the library; and keep an adequate shelf of books on reserve in the library, a shelf of books which undergraduates can read with profit and interest, not the sort of shelf appropriate for classical specialists.

In expounding the authors, refer constantly to the actual text, even though it is impossible to use the text as you would if it were in the original. Relate the selections to the larger considerations of the literary type or to the rest of that work. Relate the selections to cultural and political history. The students can usually be trusted to relate their reading to modern times—be sparing of class time spent on such comparisons.

Don't teach everything at a strictly literary level. Be theatrical in the drama; look up a little armor and tactics for the historians. In the case of the almost certain necessity for some preparatory reading on the part of the teacher, work up Greek ideas and Greek religion as prime objects of student curiosity; although again one must be adaptable since in one part of the U. S. I have encountered an almost total disinterest in Greek religion.

Draw up as many mimeographed pages as you have time and energy for. Such items as tables of dates, historical facts, literary data, etc.; even tables showing the interrelationship of history and literature.

III. A COURSE IN GREEK DRAMA

Texts

The obvious choice for a text is W. J. Oates and E. O'Neill, Jr., *The Complete Greek Drama* (2 vols.; New York: Random House, 1938). It is too expensive, and some of the translations tend to be dreary, but it is still in general use (I use it) because it gives possibility of wide selection. Some teachers object to Lane Cooper, *Fifteen Greek Plays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943), because the translations are mostly Gilbert Murray's and consequently very free. I used this book on one recent occasion and found it eminently satisfactory in the respect that it does give a poetical and literary flavor which the students appreciate and which I think is probably more important than the exactness to be found, for instance, in Jebb's prose translation of Sophocles.

It is possible to find good translations which will suit the instructor's tastes, and some are inexpensive enough that it is possible to have the students buy two different translations of some of the plays. When I used the *Fifteen Greek Plays*, I also had the class buy C. A. Robinson, Jr. (ed.), *An Anthology of Greek Drama* (New York: Rinehart, 1949), so that we could read some of the plays in two different translations, and also some additional plays. Now Robinson has brought out a Second Series of plays (1954), so that he has about enough for a whole term. Also notable is Dudley Fitts (ed.), *Greek Plays in Modern Translation* (New York: Dial Press, 1947). It is likewise possible to work out all sorts of combinations of good cheap editions, using Modern Library, Everyman, Penguin, etc.²

Both in this course and in the course on Greek and Latin epic I read Aristotle's *Poetics*.³ I have found very satisfactory the translation by P. H. Epps (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942). There are numerous other good translations, a very cheap one which I have used being: *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*,

translated by S. H. Butcher, with a Supplement: *Aristotle on Music*, translated by B. Jowett, with corrections and introduction by M. C. Nahm (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1948). My students also make much good use, in both courses, of *A Handbook of Classical Mythology* by G. Howe and G. A. Harrer (New York: Crofts, 1929).

Division of Material

If the term is 50 meetings long, I like to begin, after the introductory lecture with slides, with several days on Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. If the term is 45 meetings long, I begin with the *Hippolytus*, which in form is closer to the usual idea of a Greek play; then I follow with a shorter time for the *Suppliants* in order to show the primitive structure. Only then do I try to talk about Dionysus, the dithyramb, and the development of drama. Some teachers prefer beginning with *Bacchae*, in order to discuss the cult of Dionysus; I prefer to save that play until last, in order to emphasize the use of the chorus and the return to Dionysus at the end of a century of development.

I read these plays usually in this order: *Hippolytus*, *Suppliants*, *Persians*, *Oresteia*, *Antigone*, *Oedipus the King*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Philoctetes*, *Medea*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Bacchae*, *Clouds*, *Frogs*, *Lysistrata*, *Plutus*, *Arbitration*. I also have the class read for themselves *Cyclops*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and *Wasps*. It may startle the conventional classicist to realize that this schedule means that only one or two days' discussion can be allowed for many of these plays.

Teaching the Oedipus

There is always the problem of how actually to teach one of these classes. As a sample, let me rashly give my own procedure with regard to *Oedipus the King*, a play which will also turn up in the survey of Greek literature. I start by reading to the class the pertinent passage from *Odyssey* 11; if you wish more on the sources of the story, go to Jebb's edition of course. My point here is only to indicate that the plot is not basically an easy or even a good one, but that we should give Sophocles full credit for the excellence of the play. (It may incidentally be remarked here that I usually emphasize Aeschylus' ideas and Sophocles' dramaturgy, although it is necessary to be cautious about overemphasizing these to the detriment of the playwrights' other aspects.)

Next, with class participation, I collect all

2. See W. H. Stahl, "Inexpensive Books for Teaching the Classics: Sixth Annual List," CW 48 (1954-55) 89-94.

3. Teachers of the *Poetics* should find much of use in G. F. Else, "A Survey of Work on Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1940-1954," CW 48 (1954-55) 73-82.

the inconsistencies inherent in the plot, stressing the odd chronology of the fact that Oedipus and Jocasta were apparently married before there was a report of Laius' death; thus we see how boldly Sophocles managed to overcome the difficulties of the story. Then it is useful to contrast, with reference to Aristotle, Oedipus' godlike stature as a savior at the beginning of the play with his ruin at the end. After that it is possible to analyze the play as if it were ancient detective fiction, showing how each of the clues to the murderer's identity is introduced in such a way that it is not fully comprehended by Oedipus while the audience gains knowledge and appreciates the irony. The technique of the play is further interesting in that Oedipus is so strongly the central figure of the play, serving as a focal point; each of the other characters is brought into contact with this central figure, and each is compelled to speak out against his own wishes. The economy of the plot is typically Greek in that Jocasta realizes the horror before Oedipus does, and in that Oedipus first fears only that he is the murderer of Laius before he learns that his destiny is even more horrible.

I leave to the individual teacher's discretion the treatment of the choral odes, the importance of fate, and the nature of Oedipus' tragic error. But I can promise that this general approach will produce a lively and profitable discussion in class.

The Greek Theater

Since I regularly have a number of students who are professionally interested in dramatic arts, I am rather inclined to stress the value of short oral reports on ancient theaters, the Athenian festivals, the productions of plays, etc. One problem is that some of the most valuable books have too much Greek in the original for the students, and that the material from those (usually corrective of general impressions and popular reading) must be supplied by the teacher. In this classification fall A. W. Pickard-Cambridge's two books, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford 1946) and *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1953); also the invaluable article by W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Athenian Theater of the Fifth Century," in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, I (St. Louis 1951) 309-330.

Since it is impossible to ask every student to read in detail about the Athenian theatrical productions, I have the students pool their efforts by severally giving oral reports on such

topics as the scenery, the chorus, the audience, using assigned readings in such books as J. T. Allen, *Stage Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans and their Influence* (New York 1927); M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton 1939); R. C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama* (Chicago 1918).

Modern Drama; Scholarship

I ask the students with distinctly literary interests to present reports more in the nature of comparative literature, on such subjects as the connection of ancient drama with the modern plays of O'Neill, Sartre, T. S. Eliot, Anouilh, or the relationship of Greek drama to Seneca or to Goethe or to Racine.

The students are always excited to find that they can really learn something of immediate value to them from reading books by scholars; but it would be unwise to press this matter too far. In many instances the teacher must unobtrusively present the material himself. My point here is that the teacher must absorb as much as possible of current scholarship for use in these courses; for in translation courses, even more than in courses in the original, the students are quick to assess the extent of the teacher's professional effort.⁴

Since crowded schedules may make it difficult for the teacher to become a polymath instantaneously, there are handbooks and books of literary criticism of the individual playwrights available in almost embarrassing abundance. In your effort to be detailed and to reread such articles as I have mentioned in the previous foot-

4. Let me give here, and later in relation to other courses, specimens of scholarly publications which are of essential value to the classroom teacher.

Something should be said, for instance, about C. Anti, *Teatri greci arcaici da Minosse a Pericle* (Padua 1947); there is a largely favorable review by M. Bieber and H. A. Thompson in *AJP* 69 (1948) 449-453; a wholly unfavorable one by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in *CR* 62 (1948) 125-128. The setting of the opening of the *Eumenides* will be much more interesting if you will give to your class the substance of the review by J. Fontenrose in *AJP* 73 (1952) 445-448 of P. Amandry, *La mantique Apollinienne à Delphes: Essai sur le fonctionnement de l'oracle* (Paris 1950). On the other hand some members of the class will like to read for themselves T. S. Eliot's incidental comments on the connection of Aeschylus with *The Family Reunion* in *The Atlantic Monthly* for February 1951. Certainly you will wish to correct the usual printed comments on the scene of the *Persians* by using the article of A. M. Harmon in *TAPA* 63 (1932) 7-19.

Other articles in American periodicals immediately

note, do not neglect such present helps in time of need as P. W. Harsh, *A Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford 1944). And I should add such books as W. Beare, *The Roman Stage* (London 1950) and G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton 1952), for questions about the Roman plays will certainly be evoked by discussion of the Greek theater.

IV. A COURSE IN GREEK AND LATIN EPIC

New Tools

Courses in the epic in translation have become more satisfying to the teacher in recent years with the appearance of numerous new translations which come closer to doing justice to the original works. It is possible, without destroying the students' confidence in the translation, to show them the limitations of translations by using two different ones of at least one epic.

I use E. V. Rieu's translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (Penguin Books). I supplement this *Iliad* by R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951; available in a paper-bound students' edition), and this *Odyssey* by W. H. D. Rouse, *Homer, The Odyssey* (New York: Mentor Books, 1949). Since it is advisable that at least one of the four translations should be in verse, to remind the students that Homer did not write in prose, I should recommend, if you do not favor Lattimore's rhythms, the old but admirable W. C. Bryant, *The Iliad of Homer* (abridged edition; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944).

For the *Aeneid* I have used with pleasure Rolfe Humphries' translation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951; available in a students' edition). Many will now be interested by C. Day Lewis, *The Aeneid of Virgil* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1953), or by one of the translations listed by Professor Stahl in his annual list already referred to. As I mentioned before, I also use in this course P. H. Epps' translation of the *Poetics*, and the Howe and Harrer book on mythology. It will be noted that all these books are in inexpensive or paperbound editions.

New Perspectives

This course can also well begin with a few slides and with some remarks on early Greek history and the nature of the epic as a literary form. While you will not wish to use up too many class hours on this sort of introduction, because you will also have to furnish an introduction later to the Latin epic, there are several topics which recent scholarly developments will compel you to discuss now unless you intend to have oral reports on them later. I refer particularly to the situation resulting from the decipherment of Linear B as Greek.⁵

The students will likewise be curious about oral composition and transmission of epic poetry. For this you can go to the recent articles, developing the work of the late Milman Parry, by Notopoulos and Lord, of which the most recent is, I believe, A. B. Lord, "Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts," *TAPA* 84 (1953) 124-134. I should also refer you to A. B. Lord, "Composition by Theme in Homer and Southslavic Epos," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 71-80; J. A. Notopoulos, "Continuity and Interconnexion in Homeric Oral Composition," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 81-101. The footnotes in these articles will send you back to the earlier work on the same subject, a subject of great interest also to your students of English and German.

Since most of your class will think of inspiration as expounded in connection with English Lyric Poetry and will wonder about ancient theories of inspiration, you can turn to A. Spaduti, "The Divine Nature of Poetry in Antiquity," *TAPA* 81 (1950) 209-240.

Plan of Course

Subject to annual variations, here is the way in which I plan the course. One day for introduction, 13 days for the *Iliad*, 1 for an hour test, 8 for the *Odyssey*, 3 for Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1 for Hesiod's *Work and Days* and one Homeric Hymn, 1 for an hour test, 1 for Apollonius Rhodius (Book 3 and Book 4.1-211), 1 for early Roman epic, 12 for the *Aeneid*, 1 for Book 1 of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. This arrangement leaves a leeway of 2 days from the 45 to be expended as need arises. The other Greek and Latin epics are treated in oral reports, as are comparisons with *Beowulf*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and so on.⁶

come to mind, articles which should be accessible to almost everyone: G. F. Else, "The Case of the Third Actor," *TAPA* 76 (1945) 47-58; A. C. Schlesinger, "Three Actors and Poetry," *CP* 46 (1951) 32-33.

5. A good summary by A. J. B. Wace, "The Coming of the Greeks," *CW* 47 (1953-54) 152-155.

6. The nature of the class discussion, aside from a careful exposition of the text, can be surmised from the books

Teaching the Aeneid

For suggestions with regard to the *Aeneid* I shall confine myself to articles which present material which might not occur to someone teaching it in translation for the first time. Some student in the class is almost certain to be interested in the technique of the New Criticism, and it is helpful to have read B. M. W. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 71 (1950) 379-400. For the structural framework of the *Aeneid* there is G. E. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 75 (1954) 1-15. The *Troiae Iulus* of *Aeneid* 5 is clarified by J. L. Heller, "Labyrinth or Troy Town?," *CJ* 42 (1946-47) 123-139. The list of good articles goes on indefinitely, and I shall just conclude with a group of articles which the teacher should read at the start, for they treat of the relationship of the *Aeneid* to the Augustan family.⁷

V. A COURSE IN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORIANS *History and Literature*

This type of course is perhaps the most difficult for both the teacher and the student; yet, if well done, it is thoroughly rewarding. In talking with colleagues from other institutions, I find that some of them prefer to assign fewer readings but in larger units, and to discuss the material in broad terms. Local circumstances dictate otherwise for me, chiefly because I have undertaken to do the historians in this course simultaneously both as history and as literature,

which I should recommend as a starting-point for the teacher's own reading: C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford 1930); S. E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 15; Berkeley 1938); V. Bérard, *Did Homer Live?*, translated by B. Rhys (New York 1931); J. A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 1; Berkeley 1921); W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford 1930). I also use such articles as my own on "The Theme of the Suitors in the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 104-124, and the unusual interpretation of the relationship of gods and fate in G. M. A. Grube, "The Gods of Homer," *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto 1952) 3-19.

7. R. J. Getty, "Romulus, Roma, and Augustus in the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*," *CP* 45 (1950) 1-12; T. Frank, "Augustus, Vergil, and the Augustan Elogia," *AJP* 59 (1938) 91-94; M. Hadas, "Aeneas and the Tradition of the National Hero," *AJP* 69 (1948) 408-414; L. A. Holland, "Aeneas-Augustus of Prima Porta," *TAPA* 78 (1947) 276-284; H. T. Rowell, "Vergil and the Forum of Augustus," *AJP* 62 (1941) 261-276; I. S. Ryberg, "The Procession of the Ara Pacis," *MAAR* 19 (1949) 77-101.

a factor which serves to keep me close to the text and to urge me in the direction of numerous shorter selections rather than of a few large units.

The choice of translations is easy in the instance of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Tacitus; for they are available in several cheap editions noted in Professor Stahl's list. (The students also need a reference book, such as the Everyman *Smaller Classical Dictionary*.) Since I wish also to do something with Livy 1, 2, 21, 22, I have to import from England the four little volumes published by the University Tutorial Press Ltd., which I have found satisfactory. These four historians make up almost the entire course.

Polybius

It is imperative of course to do something with Polybius, of whom no translation is usually in print. Since it is necessary to have students use books from a library reserve shelf, I sometimes limit the reading of Polybius to three days, which actually proves to be enough even though it is rather less than I assigned when I began to teach this course. Those three assignments are: 1.1-2, 35; 2.56; 3.1-9, 31-32, 78-85; 6 entire. These assignments, which another teacher might well expand if local facilities permit, give some of Polybius' views on the nature of historical writing, his criticism of Phylarchus, the battle of Lake Trasimene (for comparison with Livy), and the sixth book on the constitution and the army. When a fourth day is available, I like to assign the passages on Scipio Aemilianus.

Teaching Tacitus

Since, as I have said above, I give selections through the authors, the reader is surely curious as to the means of gaining a connected narrative in Tacitus, where that problem is more acute than in the other three principal authors. Let me describe just one portion of the Tacitus read, the first six books of the *Annals*. In teaching Tacitus, one must lay down the broad outline before proceeding to the details by which a class is likely to feel overwhelmed. To a class beginning the *Annals* I explain the fact that Tacitus centers his narrative of Tiberius' reign about the two great episodes of Germanicus' career (and death) and Sejanus' conspiracy, with the treason trials as a constant accompaniment. I give only three assignments to *Annals* 1-6: (I) 1.1-15, 61-81; (II) 2.1-27, 42-43, 53-61, 69-88;

(III) 3.1-19, 25-31; 4.1-12, 32-42; 5.52-54, 57-60, 67; 5.1-11; 6.1, 20-25, 50-51. Not quite such drastic juggling is always necessary, nor would the class be capable of handling such assignments except that these come after the other historians and after we have already read the *Agricola*, the *Germania*, and some of the *Histories*.

... and Others

The teacher is likely to be disturbed when he thinks of the numerous historians not discussed at all, but he can be assured that the course as it stands will call for his and the students' best efforts. I salve my conscience as to the other historians by some oral reports and by the study of at least the identification of the other major historians.

For outside reading I usually have the class read the life of Caesar in both Suetonius and Plutarch, so that they can compare those two ancient authorities, just as for class discussion I assign the battle of Lake Trasimene in both Livy and Polybius. An added reason for working in a little reading in biography is the necessity for showing the basis for separating history and biography as genres.

Two good books are of such a nature that the students will appreciate using them: J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York 1909); M. L. W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 21; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1947). For a general introduction to Greek historiography you could easily do worse yourself than begin with L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939).⁸

8. This is a course in which your reading will never be finished. Hence a few short-cuts at first. In addition to the books already mentioned there is J. L. Myres' new book on *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford 1953), although one might better begin with the summary article of information by P. MacKendrick, "Herodotus: The Making of a World Historian," *CW* 47 (1953-54) 145-152. For Thucydides I think I should begin with C. N. Cochrane, *Thucydides and the Science of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929); and J. H. Finley, *Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942). For Polybius there is little available of that immediate usefulness which a teacher of this course requires; in addition to Bury's chapter I should recommend the article in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, and S. B. Smith, "Polybius of Megalopolis," *CJ* 45 (1949-50) 5-12. Laistner's chapters on Livy are excellent. As an addition to his chapters on Tacitus I should recommend some genial book such as G. Boissier, *Tacitus, and Other Roman Studies*, translated by W. G. Hutchison (New York 1906).

You can make endless good use of scholarly publica-

VI. A COURSE IN ROMAN CIVILIZATION

Different Approaches

This course can be done in at least three ways, all of which I have tried: as culture and civilization; as civilization and history, where there is no course in ancient history with which it could interfere; as civilization and literature, where there is no course in Latin literature in translation. At present I am doing it in the first way, which I think is the most difficult for the teacher and which I shall therefore describe.

I like R. M. Geer, *Classical Civilization: Rome*, second edition (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), although this does bear down a little heavily on the history if you are not intending a combination of civilization and history. If you can use the book, however, it hits most points, and it is clear enough that students can in the simpler portions be trusted to read it themselves while you lecture on other topics. Currently I am using W. W. Fowler-M. P. Charlesworth, *Rome* (No. 42 in The Home University Library published by the Oxford Press). It is an excellent book and a classic in its own right, although I tend to disagree violently with its praise of Julius Caesar. I also use concurrently H. W. Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, revised by Mary Johnston (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1932), of which a new edition is expected early in 1955. The book is unpretentious and somewhat elementary in tone, but it does embrace a large and accurate amount of the results compiled by German scholarship. Obviously, also, you cannot hold most classes for all the Latin in the text. There are, to my knowledge, no other suitable books available in adequate stocks.

Lecture Topics

Whether the teacher chooses the Geer or the Johnston, it is clear that he must undertake

tions, of which I shall give just a few examples. I should regard it as unwise to begin to discuss Thucydides (and Polybius) without having in mind the remarks of L. Pearson, "Prophasia and Aitia," *TAPA* 83 (1952) 205-223. The class will be vastly interested by D. L. Page's very reasonable suggestion that the great plague at Athens was actually measles, *CQ*, N. S., 3 (1953) 97-119; cf. N. S., 4 (1954) 171-174. For Tacitus you can make excellent use of R. S. Rogers, "A Tacitean Pattern in Narrating Treason-Trials," *TAPA* 83 (1952) 279-311. And I use my own papers on "The Death of Agrippa Postumus," *TAPA* 78 (1947) 131-139; "The Political Atmosphere of the Reign of Tiberius," *TAPA* 72 (1941) 1-25.

much supplementary lecturing, and he can draw up his list of lectures from the chapter headings and subdivisions of whichever book he is not using as a text. I insert other supplementary lectures as well, largely based originally on the books indicated in the parentheses following these sample topics: the Etruscans (G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection* [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1940]; G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Etruscans and their Art," *Bulletin of the Museum of Art* [Rhode Island School of Design], Vol. 28, No. 1 [July, 1940]); Cato the Censor, with readings in class from the *De agri cultura*; short readings in class and exposition of Polybius, Book 6; a discussion of Scipio Africanus the Younger, based on readings from Polybius in class and intended as a contrast to Cato the Censor; considerable discussion of Ciceronian public and private life, based on my own studies in Cicero; one lecture each on Stoicism and Epicureanism; Oriental cults (F. V. M. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* [Chicago 1911]); and I usually end the course with a lecture based on R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (Macmillan 1899).

Supplements

For this course you will find yourself collecting all sorts of supplementary material, which I for one, contrary to some educational theory, find it useful to pass around the class. Various guidebooks and picture-books of course, but while you are searching out the esoteric, do not neglect the obvious places like the Metropolitan Museum, which at a modest price can supply excellent illustrated booklets on *Roman Portraits* and *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*. Do not disdain to keep photographs from the popular periodicals, whose editors might be shocked to learn that many of their handsomest groups of pictures apparently made no lasting impression on their readers (?), for the students look at these pictures with amazement when the teacher supplies a fuller explanation of them. Some of the periodicals are also willing to supply copies of these features to interested teachers. As to the matter of slides, I refer the reader to the earlier portion of this paper. I usually give about six lectures on Rome and Pompeii, my only novelty being a further slide lecture on imperial portraits both to help with the history and to illustrate portrait sculpture.

Other Combinations

If you are so situated that you can give a combination of history and literature with the civilization, Geer or some history is good, combined with a book of selections from Latin Literature. In one course I liked very much, I used a brief history (actually the Roman section of an *Ancient History*), while the students also bought cheap editions of Plutarch's *Lives*, selections from Cicero, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Tacitus' *Annals*, etc. (The *Ancient History* and the Plutarch of course also served for the corresponding Greek Course.) In this course the Plutarch is invaluable, using Romulus, Marcus Cato, Julius Caesar, Cicero; with Cato the Younger as an admirable transition between the Republic and the Empire because of the nature of Plutarch's sources.⁹

Envoy

My purpose here has been twofold, to instruct novices and to elicit authoritative comment from professors of recognized competence. It should be noted that this paper is intended to be helpful, not prescriptive; I hope that other teachers will supply us with their prescriptions for successful teaching. There has been no hesitation about discussing in print the teaching of courses in Latin and Greek; papers about classics in English translation should prove equally valuable.

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9. The course in Roman civilization is one in which a greater burden of effort falls upon the teacher than upon the students. A good group of reference books is a prime requirement, and the widest reading is valuable. Start with C. Bailey (ed.), *The Legacy of Rome* (Oxford 1923); but everything is grist to your mill, including such diverse works as F. E. Adcock, *The Roman Art of War under the Republic* (Martin Classical Lectures, vol. 8: Cambridge, Mass., 1940); T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. 3; Rome [and New York]: American Academy in Rome, 1924); G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937); F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, (2d ed.; Oxford 1951); along with such articles as L. Casson, "Speed under Sail of Ancient Ships," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 136-148.

I can mention two lists which are intended to help with the problem of books on subjects which were previously of no great interest to the teacher: *The Claim of Antiquity, with an Annotated List of Books for Those Who do not Read Greek or Latin*, (4th ed., revised by B. Ashmole, R. H. Barrow, N. H. Baynes, H. Last: Oxford University Press 1935); O. E. Nybakken, *Guide for Readings in English on Roman Civilization* (Bulletin 30,

the students' confidence in the translation. Students like to have expounded to them a few of the famous verses in the *Aeneid*, for example, since some of them know enough Latin to follow them. Even a class which knows no Latin can be made to understand Catullus 5 since it contains so much repetition of easy words; and the students in civilization will enjoy as much as literary students the fact that the poem is based on the Roman abacus, as elucidated by H. L. Levy, "Catullus, 5, 7-11 and the Abacus," *AJP* 62 (1941) 222-224. This technique creates a good campus atmosphere for the study of the original; it also makes it possible to explain to the students, in a way they can understand, the reasons for reading the material in the original, a topic which probably no one has ever before brought intelligibly to their notice.

The Role of the Teacher

While the class will be interested by the original, the teacher must remember that the students are reading the literature in translation and will properly be offended if the teacher takes the mistaken attitude that he is teaching a second-rate course. There is some compensation for the lack of reading in the original to be derived from the more extensive reading to be done by the students who read only translations.

The student in the translation course will often be taking only that single course in classics and hence will be looking for a broad impression of the whole sweep of at least one phase of antiquity. The teacher will therefore be well advised to consider exactly what his aims are in these courses and in what ways these aims differ from those in courses in the original. It is just as well that he should have these ideas clearly in mind and not hesitate to mention them to his classes when opportunity arises. Such an approach will allow him to encourage students who decide, after a course in translation, to take up the study of the original, a by no means unusual occurrence. At the same time he will understand his own aims in the course; for it is much more difficult to be certain of attaining a desired result within a single course.

The teacher will have to work harder than ever before to prepare these courses, and then will have to continue strenuous efforts. There are very good reasons for this vast expenditure of labor. Students regard the instructor as an

encyclopedia of classical lore, and he will be wise not to disappoint them too often; he will have to reconcile himself to reading widely outside his usual range of interests. Then, too, since many of the students will have less previous knowledge of antiquity than even elementary students of Greek and Latin, this lack must be compensated for by the instructor's ability to speak from an unusual fullness of knowledge. A certain amount of the success of these courses depends upon the sheer expenditure of professorial energy in advance preparation and in class presentation. The students are likely to be mature, and will be anxious to ask mature questions of perhaps the first professional classicist they have ever met up with. To junior members of faculties I should recommend the vigorous teaching principles described by A. F. Johnson, "Madness in Your Methods Courses," *CO* 31 (1953-54) 77 f.

II. A SURVEY OF GREEK (OR LATIN) LITERATURE *General*

The following remarks on a survey of Greek literature will serve, *mutatis mutandis*, also for a course in Latin literature in translation. It should further be noted that I do not try to make similar comments in regard to all the courses individually when it is enough that such comments should be made only in connection with the courses for which they are most appropriate.

While most college administrations are inclined to be favorable towards embarking first upon a survey course of some sort, surveys by their nature are a large effort for the instructor because of the variety of knowledge which they demand. The instructor undertaking such a course should take from my remarks on more specialized courses what advice he can employ for the individual sections of this general course.

I am naturally most familiar with the highly teachable revision by P. H. Epps of the [G.] Howe and [G. A.] Harrer, *Greek Literature in Translation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948). There are other books of selections of

C. A. A. S.
SPRING MEETING
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
APRIL 29-30, 1955
(See p. 119)

course of which the most recent is probably the two-volume set by P. MacKendrick and H. M. Howe, one volume for Greek and one for Latin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), which seem to me to be thoroughly usable. It is almost imperative to buy in addition a paperback *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, for it is usually necessary to read in greater detail in one epic or the other. This necessity arises from the fact that all books of selections have weaknesses in the eyes of the individual instructor, who will have to be prepared to overcome them, especially in the matter of inadequate selections in some authors.

Division of Material

It is well to open the course with one or two historical lectures, for most teachers find it difficult to teach literature as if it existed in an historical and cultural vacuum. A brief text in ancient history could be used in some institutions, possibly combined with full texts of some authors rather than with a book of selections from many authors.

The survey of Greek literature divides readily into about five equal parts: epic, history, drama, philosophy and oratory, and "other" (lyric, Alexandrian, scientific). It is the classification "other" which will try your soul, especially since it includes lyric. Lyric poetry (including some Pindar) is naturally difficult to expound. I arbitrarily insert it before the historians, just to preserve the chronology of literary and historical development.

As the years go by, you will find yourself reducing the length of the assignments somewhat, in an effort to give greater emphasis to what is read. Never hesitate to give emphasis to any area of your own particular interest and competence; students will benefit by your enthusiasm and knowledge so long as you do not neglect other areas overmuch. Students do like to feel that they have completed the *whole* course. The arrangement of assignments demands careful planning at the beginning of the term, with a daily resolution not to digress.

The variety of material in this course makes it helpful to give a number of hour or half-hour tests. I like four half-hour tests which can be given after each of four of the five divisions of the course. The other 20 minutes of the 50-minute period can be profitably used for a small group of slides pertinent to the subject just completed or to the material to follow. For the final examination, since the students will pre-

sumably have reviewed in detail for the individual tests, it is better to make a selection of the items read and to hold the students responsible for only those on the final examination, at least so far as questions of detail are concerned. The final examination can include a sort of half-hour test on the fifth division of the course.

Class Procedure

Now for a few hints as to how to teach the course. Expound the text, questioning members of the class copiously. They will remember easily the things they talk about, and they will often surprise you by egregious misunderstandings of what seems to us painfully clear. No two classes will be puzzled by the same points. Explain *essential* small items, as the fact that in the plays the stage directions are the translators'. Keep your lecture notes flexible because the students want to know *now* the answers to the questions they ask now.

It is a good idea to have the students buy, or for you to have available for their use, some sort of reference book, as Harvey's *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford 1946). This strategy will save many questions about minutiae, and the students can even read the articles on such topics as "Oratory". Make sure the class knows the location of other reference books in the library; and keep an adequate shelf of books on reserve in the library, a shelf of books which undergraduates can read with profit and interest, not the sort of shelf appropriate for classical specialists.

In expounding the authors, refer constantly to the actual text, even though it is impossible to use the text as you would if it were in the original. Relate the selections to the larger considerations of the literary type or to the rest of that work. Relate the selections to cultural and political history. The students can usually be trusted to relate their reading to modern times—be sparing of class time spent on such comparisons.

Don't teach everything at a strictly literary level. Be theatrical in the drama; look up a little armor and tactics for the historians. In the case of the almost certain necessity for some preparatory reading on the part of the teacher, work up Greek ideas and Greek religion as prime objects of student curiosity; although again one must be adaptable since in one part of the U. S. I have encountered an almost total disinterest in Greek religion.

Draw up as many mimeographed pages as you have time and energy for. Such items as tables of dates, historical facts, literary data, etc.; even tables showing the interrelationship of history and literature.

III. A COURSE IN GREEK DRAMA

Texts

The obvious choice for a text is W. J. Oates and E. O'Neill, Jr., *The Complete Greek Drama* (2 vols.; New York: Random House, 1938). It is too expensive, and some of the translations tend to be dreary, but it is still in general use (I use it) because it gives possibility of wide selection. Some teachers object to Lane Cooper, *Fifteen Greek Plays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943), because the translations are mostly Gilbert Murray's and consequently very free. I used this book on one recent occasion and found it eminently satisfactory in the respect that it does give a poetical and literary flavor which the students appreciate and which I think is probably more important than the exactness to be found, for instance, in Jebb's prose translation of Sophocles.

It is possible to find good translations which will suit the instructor's tastes, and some are inexpensive enough that it is possible to have the students buy two different translations of some of the plays. When I used the *Fifteen Greek Plays*, I also had the class buy C. A. Robinson, Jr. (ed.), *An Anthology of Greek Drama* (New York: Rinehart, 1949), so that we could read some of the plays in two different translations, and also some additional plays. Now Robinson has brought out a Second Series of plays (1954), so that he has about enough for a whole term. Also notable is Dudley Fitts (ed.), *Greek Plays in Modern Translation* (New York: Dial Press, 1947). It is likewise possible to work out all sorts of combinations of good cheap editions, using Modern Library, Everyman, Penguin, etc.²

Both in this course and in the course on Greek and Latin epic I read Aristotle's *Poetics*.³ I have found very satisfactory the translation by P. H. Epps (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942). There are numerous other good translations, a very cheap one which I have used being: *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*,

translated by S. H. Butcher, with a Supplement: *Aristotle on Music*, translated by B. Jowett, with corrections and introduction by M. C. Nahm (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1948). My students also make much good use, in both courses, of *A Handbook of Classical Mythology* by G. Howe and G. A. Harrer (New York: Crofts, 1929).

Division of Material

If the term is 50 meetings long, I like to begin, after the introductory lecture with slides, with several days on Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. If the term is 45 meetings long, I begin with the *Hippolytus*, which in form is closer to the usual idea of a Greek play; then I follow with a shorter time for the *Suppliants* in order to show the primitive structure. Only then do I try to talk about Dionysus, the dithyramb, and the development of drama. Some teachers prefer beginning with *Bacchae*, in order to discuss the cult of Dionysus; I prefer to save that play until last, in order to emphasize the use of the chorus and the return to Dionysus at the end of a century of development.

I read these plays usually in this order: *Hippolytus*, *Suppliants*, *Persians*, *Oresteia*, *Antigone*, *Oedipus the King*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Philoctetes*, *Medea*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Bacchae*, *Clouds*, *Frogs*, *Lysistrata*, *Plutus*, *Arbitration*. I also have the class read for themselves *Cyclops*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and *Wasps*. It may startle the conventional classicist to realize that this schedule means that only one or two days' discussion can be allowed for many of these plays.

Teaching the Oedipus

There is always the problem of how actually to teach one of these classes. As a sample, let me rashly give my own procedure with regard to *Oedipus the King*, a play which will also turn up in the survey of Greek literature. I start by reading to the class the pertinent passage from *Odyssey* 11; if you wish more on the sources of the story, go to Jebb's edition of course. My point here is only to indicate that the plot is not basically an easy or even a good one, but that we should give Sophocles full credit for the excellence of the play. (It may incidentally be remarked here that I usually emphasize Aeschylus' ideas and Sophocles' dramaturgy, although it is necessary to be cautious about overemphasizing these to the detriment of the playwrights' other aspects.)

Next, with class participation, I collect all

2. See W. H. Stahl, "Inexpensive Books for Teaching the Classics: Sixth Annual List," CW 48 (1954-55) 89-94.

3. Teachers of the *Poetics* should find much of use in G. F. Else, "A Survey of Work on Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1940-1954," CW 48 (1954-55) 73-82.

the inconsistencies inherent in the plot, stressing the odd chronology of the fact that Oedipus and Jocasta were apparently married before there was a report of Laius' death; thus we see how boldly Sophocles managed to overcome the difficulties of the story. Then it is useful to contrast, with reference to Aristotle, Oedipus' godlike stature as a savior at the beginning of the play with his ruin at the end. After that it is possible to analyze the play as if it were ancient detective fiction, showing how each of the clues to the murderer's identity is introduced in such a way that it is not fully comprehended by Oedipus while the audience gains knowledge and appreciates the irony. The technique of the play is further interesting in that Oedipus is so strongly the central figure of the play, serving as a focal point; each of the other characters is brought into contact with this central figure, and each is compelled to speak out against his own wishes. The economy of the plot is typically Greek in that Jocasta realizes the horror before Oedipus does, and in that Oedipus first fears only that he is the murderer of Laius before he learns that his destiny is even more horrible.

I leave to the individual teacher's discretion the treatment of the choral odes, the importance of fate, and the nature of Oedipus' tragic error. But I can promise that this general approach will produce a lively and profitable discussion in class.

The Greek Theater

Since I regularly have a number of students who are professionally interested in dramatic arts, I am rather inclined to stress the value of short oral reports on ancient theaters, the Athenian festivals, the productions of plays, etc. One problem is that some of the most valuable books have too much Greek in the original for the students, and that the material from those (usually corrective of general impressions and popular reading) must be supplied by the teacher. In this classification fall A. W. Pickard-Cambridge's two books, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford 1946) and *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1953); also the invaluable article by W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Athenian Theater of the Fifth Century," in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, I (St. Louis 1951) 309-330.

Since it is impossible to ask every student to read in detail about the Athenian theatrical productions, I have the students pool their efforts by severally giving oral reports on such

topics as the scenery, the chorus, the audience, using assigned readings in such books as J. T. Allen, *Stage Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans and their Influence* (New York 1927); M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton 1939); R. C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama* (Chicago 1918).

Modern Drama; Scholarship

I ask the students with distinctly literary interests to present reports more in the nature of comparative literature, on such subjects as the connection of ancient drama with the modern plays of O'Neill, Sartre, T. S. Eliot, Anouilh, or the relationship of Greek drama to Seneca or to Goethe or to Racine.

The students are always excited to find that they can really learn something of immediate value to them from reading books by scholars; but it would be unwise to press this matter too far. In many instances the teacher must unobtrusively present the material himself. My point here is that the teacher must absorb as much as possible of current scholarship for use in these courses; for in translation courses, even more than in courses in the original, the students are quick to assess the extent of the teacher's professional effort.⁴

Since crowded schedules may make it difficult for the teacher to become a polymath instantaneously, there are handbooks and books of literary criticism of the individual playwrights available in almost embarrassing abundance. In your effort to be detailed and to reread such articles as I have mentioned in the previous foot-

4. Let me give here, and later in relation to other courses, specimens of scholarly publications which are of essential value to the classroom teacher.

Something should be said, for instance, about C. Anti, *Teatri greci arcaici da Minosse a Pericle* (Padua 1947); there is a largely favorable review by M. Bieber and H. A. Thompson in *AJP* 69 (1948) 449-453; a wholly unfavorable one by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in *CR* 62 (1948) 125-128. The setting of the opening of the *Eumenides* will be much more interesting if you will give to your class the substance of the review by J. Fontenrose in *AJP* 73 (1952) 445-448 of P. Amandry, *La mantique Apollinienne à Delphes: Essai sur le fonctionnement de l'oracle* (Paris 1950). On the other hand some members of the class will like to read for themselves T. S. Eliot's incidental comments on the connection of Aeschylus with *The Family Reunion* in *The Atlantic Monthly* for February 1951. Certainly you will wish to correct the usual printed comments on the scene of the *Persians* by using the article of A. M. Harmon in *TAPA* 63 (1932) 7-19.

Other articles in American periodicals immediately

note, do not neglect such present helps in time of need as P. W. Harsh, *A Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford 1944). And I should add such books as W. Beare, *The Roman Stage* (London 1950) and G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton 1952), for questions about the Roman plays will certainly be evoked by discussion of the Greek theater.

IV. A COURSE IN GREEK AND LATIN EPIC

New Tools

Courses in the epic in translation have become more satisfying to the teacher in recent years with the appearance of numerous new translations which come closer to doing justice to the original works. It is possible, without destroying the students' confidence in the translation, to show them the limitations of translations by using two different ones of at least one epic.

I use E. V. Rieu's translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (Penguin Books). I supplement this *Iliad* by R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951; available in a paper-bound students' edition), and this *Odyssey* by W. H. D. Rouse, *Homer, The Odyssey* (New York: Mentor Books, 1949). Since it is advisable that at least one of the four translations should be in verse, to remind the students that Homer did not write in prose, I should recommend, if you do not favor Lattimore's rhythms, the old but admirable W. C. Bryant, *The Iliad of Homer* (abridged edition; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944).

For the *Aeneid* I have used with pleasure Rolfe Humphries' translation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951; available in a students' edition). Many will now be interested by C. Day Lewis, *The Aeneid of Virgil* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1953), or by one of the translations listed by Professor Stahl in his annual list already referred to. As I mentioned before, I also use in this course P. H. Epps' translation of the *Poetics*, and the Howe and Harrer book on mythology. It will be noted that all these books are in inexpensive or paperbound editions.

New Perspectives

This course can also well begin with a few slides and with some remarks on early Greek history and the nature of the epic as a literary form. While you will not wish to use up too many class hours on this sort of introduction, because you will also have to furnish an introduction later to the Latin epic, there are several topics which recent scholarly developments will compel you to discuss now unless you intend to have oral reports on them later. I refer particularly to the situation resulting from the decipherment of Linear B as Greek.⁵

The students will likewise be curious about oral composition and transmission of epic poetry. For this you can go to the recent articles, developing the work of the late Milman Parry, by Notopoulos and Lord, of which the most recent is, I believe, A. B. Lord, "Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts," *TAPA* 84 (1953) 124-134. I should also refer you to A. B. Lord, "Composition by Theme in Homer and Southslavic Epos," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 71-80; J. A. Notopoulos, "Continuity and Interconnexion in Homeric Oral Composition," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 81-101. The footnotes in these articles will send you back to the earlier work on the same subject, a subject of great interest also to your students of English and German.

Since most of your class will think of inspiration as expounded in connection with English Lyric Poetry and will wonder about ancient theories of inspiration, you can turn to A. Spertuti, "The Divine Nature of Poetry in Antiquity," *TAPA* 81 (1950) 209-240.

Plan of Course

Subject to annual variations, here is the way in which I plan the course. One day for introduction, 13 days for the *Iliad*, 1 for an hour test, 8 for the *Odyssey*, 3 for Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1 for Hesiod's *Work and Days* and one Homeric Hymn, 1 for an hour test, 1 for Apollonius Rhodius (Book 3 and Book 4.1-211), 1 for early Roman epic, 12 for the *Aeneid*, 1 for Book 1 of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. This arrangement leaves a leeway of 2 days from the 45 to be expended as need arises. The other Greek and Latin epics are treated in oral reports, as are comparisons with *Beowulf*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and so on.⁶

come to mind, articles which should be accessible to almost everyone: G. F. Else, "The Case of the Third Actor," *TAPA* 76 (1945) 47-58; A. C. Schlesinger, "Three Actors and Poetry," *CP* 46 (1951) 32-33.

5. A good summary by A. J. B. Wace, "The Coming of the Greeks," *CW* 47 (1953-54) 152-155.

6. The nature of the class discussion, aside from a careful exposition of the text, can be surmised from the books

Teaching the Aeneid

For suggestions with regard to the *Aeneid* I shall confine myself to articles which present material which might not occur to someone teaching it in translation for the first time. Some student in the class is almost certain to be interested in the technique of the New Criticism, and it is helpful to have read B. M. W. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 71 (1950) 379-400. For the structural framework of the *Aeneid* there is G. E. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 75 (1954) 1-15. The *Troiae Ius* of *Aeneid* 5 is clarified by J. L. Heller, "Labyrinth or Troy Town?," *CJ* 42 (1946-47) 123-139. The list of good articles goes on indefinitely, and I shall just conclude with a group of articles which the teacher should read at the start, for they treat of the relationship of the *Aeneid* to the Augustan family.⁷

V. A COURSE IN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORIANS *History and Literature*

This type of course is perhaps the most difficult for both the teacher and the student; yet, if well done, it is thoroughly rewarding. In talking with colleagues from other institutions, I find that some of them prefer to assign fewer readings but in larger units, and to discuss the material in broad terms. Local circumstances dictate otherwise for me, chiefly because I have undertaken to do the historians in this course simultaneously both as history and as literature,

which I should recommend as a starting-point for the teacher's own reading: C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford 1930); S. E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 15; Berkeley 1938); V. Bérard, *Did Homer Live?*, translated by B. Rhys (New York 1931); J. A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 1; Berkeley 1921); W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford 1930). I also use such articles as my own on "The Theme of the Suitors in the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 104-124, and the unusual interpretation of the relationship of gods and fate in G. M. A. Grube, "The Gods of Homer," *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto 1952) 3-19.

7. R. J. Getty, "Romulus, Roma, and Augustus in the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*," *CP* 45 (1950) 1-12; T. Frank, "Augustus, Vergil, and the Augustan Elegia," *AJP* 59 (1938) 91-94; M. Hadas, "Aeneas and the Tradition of the National Hero," *AJP* 69 (1948) 408-414; L. A. Holland, "Aeneas-Augustus of Prima Porta," *TAPA* 78 (1947) 276-284; H. T. Rowell, "Vergil and the Forum of Augustus," *AJP* 62 (1941) 261-276; I. S. Ryberg, "The Procession of the Ara Pacis," *MAAR* 19 (1949) 77-101.

a factor which serves to keep me close to the text and to urge me in the direction of numerous shorter selections rather than of a few large units.

The choice of translations is easy in the instance of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Tacitus; for they are available in several cheap editions noted in Professor Stahl's list. (The students also need a reference book, such as the Everyman *Smaller Classical Dictionary*.) Since I wish also to do something with Livy 1, 2, 21, 22, I have to import from England the four little volumes published by the University Tutorial Press Ltd., which I have found satisfactory. These four historians make up almost the entire course.

Polybius

It is imperative of course to do something with Polybius, of whom no translation is usually in print. Since it is necessary to have students use books from a library reserve shelf, I sometimes limit the reading of Polybius to three days, which actually proves to be enough even though it is rather less than I assigned when I began to teach this course. Those three assignments are: 1.1-2, 35; 2.56; 3.1-9, 31-32, 78-85; 6 entire. These assignments, which another teacher might well expand if local facilities permit, give some of Polybius' views on the nature of historical writing, his criticism of Phylarchus, the battle of Lake Trasimene (for comparison with Livy), and the sixth book on the constitution and the army. When a fourth day is available, I like to assign the passages on Scipio Aemilianus.

Teaching Tacitus

Since, as I have said above, I give selections through the authors, the reader is surely curious as to the means of gaining a connected narrative in Tacitus, where that problem is more acute than in the other three principal authors. Let me describe just one portion of the Tacitus read, the first six books of the *Annals*. In teaching Tacitus, one must lay down the broad outline before proceeding to the details by which a class is likely to feel overwhelmed. To a class beginning the *Annals* I explain the fact that Tacitus centers his narrative of Tiberius' reign about the two great episodes of Germanicus' career (and death) and Sejanus' conspiracy, with the treason trials as a constant accompaniment. I give only three assignments to *Annals* 1-6: (I) 1.1-15, 61-81; (II) 2.1-27, 42-43, 53-61, 69-88;

(III) 3.1-19, 25-31; 4.1-12, 32-42; 5.52-54, 57-60, 67; 5.1-11; 6.1, 20-25, 50-51. Not quite such drastic juggling is always necessary, nor would the class be capable of handling such assignments except that these come after the other historians and after we have already read the *Agricola*, the *Germania*, and some of the *Histories*.

... and Others

The teacher is likely to be disturbed when he thinks of the numerous historians not discussed at all, but he can be assured that the course as it stands will call for his and the students' best efforts. I salve my conscience as to the other historians by some oral reports and by the study of at least the identification of the other major historians.

For outside reading I usually have the class read the life of Caesar in both Suetonius and Plutarch, so that they can compare those two ancient authorities, just as for class discussion I assign the battle of Lake Trasimene in both Livy and Polybius. An added reason for working in a little reading in biography is the necessity for showing the basis for separating history and biography as genres.

Two good books are of such a nature that the students will appreciate using them: J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York 1909); M. L. W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 21; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1947). For a general introduction to Greek historiography you could easily do worse yourself than begin with L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939).⁸

8. This is a course in which your reading will never be finished. Hence a few short-cuts at first. In addition to the books already mentioned there is J. L. Myres' new book on *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford 1953), although one might better begin with the summary article of information by P. MacKendrick, "Herodotus: The Making of a World Historian," *CW* 47 (1953-54) 145-152. For Thucydides I think I should begin with C. N. Cochrane, *Thucydides and the Science of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929); and J. H. Finley, *Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942). For Polybius there is little available of that immediate usefulness which a teacher of this course requires; in addition to Bury's chapter I should recommend the article in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, and S. B. Smith, "Polybius of Megalopolis," *CJ* 45 (1949-50) 5-12. Laistner's chapters on Livy are excellent. As an addition to his chapters on Tacitus I should recommend some genial book such as G. Boissier, *Tacitus, and Other Roman Studies*, translated by W. G. Hutchison (New York 1906).

You can make endless good use of scholarly publica-

VI. A COURSE IN ROMAN CIVILIZATION

Different Approaches

This course can be done in at least three ways, all of which I have tried: as culture and civilization; as civilization and history, where there is no course in ancient history with which it could interfere; as civilization and literature, where there is no course in Latin literature in translation. At present I am doing it in the first way, which I think is the most difficult for the teacher and which I shall therefore describe.

I like R. M. Geer, *Classical Civilization: Rome*, second edition (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), although this does bear down a little heavily on the history if you are not intending a combination of civilization and history. If you can use the book, however, it hits most points, and it is clear enough that students can in the simpler portions be trusted to read it themselves while you lecture on other topics. Currently I am using W. W. Fowler-M. P. Charlesworth, *Rome* (No. 42 in The Home University Library published by the Oxford Press). It is an excellent book and a classic in its own right, although I tend to disagree violently with its praise of Julius Caesar. I also use concurrently H. W. Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, revised by Mary Johnston (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1932), of which a new edition is expected early in 1955. The book is unpretentious and somewhat elementary in tone, but it does embrace a large and accurate amount of the results compiled by German scholarship. Obviously, also, you cannot hold most classes for all the Latin in the text. There are, to my knowledge, no other suitable books available in adequate stocks.

Lecture Topics

Whether the teacher chooses the Geer or the Johnston, it is clear that he must undertake

tions, of which I shall give just a few examples. I should regard it as unwise to begin to discuss Thucydides (and Polybius) without having in mind the remarks of L. Pearson, "Prophasia and Aitia," *TAPA* 83 (1952) 205-223. The class will be vastly interested by D. L. Page's very reasonable suggestion that the great plague at Athens was actually measles, *CQ*, N. S., 3 (1953) 97-119; cf. N. S., 4 (1954) 171-174. For Tacitus you can make excellent use of R. S. Rogers, "A Tacitean Pattern in Narrating Treason-Trials," *TAPA* 83 (1952) 279-311. And I use my own papers on "The Death of Agrippa Postumus," *TAPA* 78 (1947) 131-139; "The Political Atmosphere of the Reign of Tiberius," *TAPA* 72 (1941) 1-25.

much supplementary lecturing, and he can draw up his list of lectures from the chapter headings and subdivisions of whichever book he is not using as a text. I insert other supplementary lectures as well, largely based originally on the books indicated in the parentheses following these sample topics: the Etruscans (G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection* [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1940]; G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Etruscans and their Art," *Bulletin of the Museum of Art* [Rhode Island School of Design], Vol. 28, No. 1 [July, 1940]); Cato the Censor, with readings in class from the *De agri cultura*; short readings in class and exposition of Polybius, Book 6; a discussion of Scipio Africanus the Younger, based on readings from Polybius in class and intended as a contrast to Cato the Censor; considerable discussion of Ciceronian public and private life, based on my own studies in Cicero; one lecture each on Stoicism and Epicureanism; Oriental cults (F. V. M. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* [Chicago 1911]); and I usually end the course with a lecture based on R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (Macmillan 1899).

Supplements

For this course you will find yourself collecting all sorts of supplementary material, which I for one, contrary to some educational theory, find it useful to pass around the class. Various guidebooks and picture-books of course, but while you are searching out the esoteric, do not neglect the obvious places like the Metropolitan Museum, which at a modest price can supply excellent illustrated booklets on *Roman Portraits* and *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*. Do not disdain to keep photographs from the popular periodicals, whose editors might be shocked to learn that many of their handsomest groups of pictures apparently made no lasting impression on their readers (?), for the students look at these pictures with amazement when the teacher supplies a fuller explanation of them. Some of the periodicals are also willing to supply copies of these features to interested teachers. As to the matter of slides, I refer the reader to the earlier portion of this paper. I usually give about six lectures on Rome and Pompeii, my only novelty being a further slide lecture on imperial portraits both to help with the history and to illustrate portrait sculpture.

Other Combinations

If you are so situated that you can give a combination of history and literature with the civilization, Geer or some history is good, combined with a book of selections from Latin Literature. In one course I liked very much, I used a brief history (actually the Roman section of an *Ancient History*), while the students also bought cheap editions of Plutarch's *Lives*, selections from Cicero, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Tacitus' *Annals*, etc. (The *Ancient History* and the Plutarch of course also served for the corresponding Greek Course.) In this course the Plutarch is invaluable, using Romulus, Marcus Cato, Julius Caesar, Cicero; with Cato the Younger as an admirable transition between the Republic and the Empire because of the nature of Plutarch's sources.⁹

Envoy

My purpose here has been twofold, to instruct novices and to elicit authoritative comment from professors of recognized competence. It should be noted that this paper is intended to be helpful, not prescriptive; I hope that other teachers will supply us with their prescriptions for successful teaching. There has been no hesitation about discussing in print the teaching of courses in Latin and Greek; papers about classics in English translation should prove equally valuable.

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9. The course in Roman civilization is one in which a greater burden of effort falls upon the teacher than upon the students. A good group of reference books is a prime requirement, and the widest reading is valuable. Start with C. Bailey (ed.), *The Legacy of Rome* (Oxford 1923); but everything is grist to your mill, including such diverse works as F. E. Adcock, *The Roman Art of War under the Republic* (Martin Classical Lectures, vol. 8; Cambridge, Mass., 1940); T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. 3; Rome [and New York]: American Academy in Rome, 1924); G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937); F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, (2d ed.; Oxford 1951); along with such articles as L. Casson, "Speed under Sail of Ancient Ships," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 136-148.

I can mention two lists which are intended to help with the problem of books on subjects which were previously of no great interest to the teacher: *The Claim of Antiquity, with an Annotated List of Books for Those Who do not Read Greek or Latin*, (4th ed., revised by B. Ashmole, R. H. Barrow, N. H. Baynes, H. Last; Oxford University Press 1935); O. E. Nybakken, *Guide for Readings in English on Roman Civilization* (Bulletin 30,

A PROJECT IN NEO-LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY (1400-1600)

The project in Neo-Latin lexicography here outlined originated with a suggestion made by Professor James Naiden in listing desiderata in the field of Neo-Latin studies at the Conference on Modern Latin Literature held at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association in 1952. With interest in late Medieval, Renaissance, and post-Renaissance Latin literature running high, and with the zealous and serious work being done on such cooperative projects as the checklist of sixteenth century Latin writings, the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, and the history of modern Latin literature, to say nothing of the many useful studies, translations, and editions undertaken by individual scholars, it has seemed important to provide students in this field with the useful tool which a Neo-Latin lexicon can be. To that end, inquiries were made among Neo-Latinists concerning some of the problems connected with the project. The result was a brief article by the undersigned (*Renaissance News* VII [Winter 1954] 160-162) which surveyed the present status of Neo-Latin lexicography, indicated the status of the bibliographical problem, and gave notice of the project.

There are, of course, many distinguished contributions to post-classical Latin lexicography; yet the Latin neologisms and coinages of the late Medieval, Renaissance, and post-Renaissance periods remain unglossed except in scattered fashion in special studies, translations, or editions of modern Latin writing. Such lexicons of post-classical Latin as exist, though admirable of their kind, have severe self-imposed limitations. For example, the old edition of Du Cange, though strong in the vocabulary of legal documents and chronicles, is weak in that of science, philosophy, and many other branches of learning; and the new edition, judging from the

samples, would appear not to improve on this situation. Moreover, it would appear from the *Bulletin Du Cange* that emphasis is to be placed in the new *Glossarium* on Latin before the year 1100, thus leaving untouched a large area in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Other lexicons are even more limited in scope; for instance, the Late Latin vocabulary studies published in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin* by the Catholic University of America are concerned with a limited area of writing and with a sharply circumscribed period; and Monsignor Antonio Bacci's *Lexicon Eorum Vocabulorum Quae Difficilius Latine Redduntur* is designed primarily for the contemporary writer of Latin poetry or prose.

Though it is clear that a lexicon that would leave no area untouched is highly desirable, it is thought that a project on such a scale is not immediately feasible; hence limits have been set arbitrarily to include the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1400-1600), those being centuries of rich and varied activity in Latin writing, as well as centuries to which much attention is currently being given by students of modern Latin literature. No other limits have been set; entries may be drawn from writers of any national group and of any discipline.

There are at present no definite plans for publication, and no commitment of that kind is being made by the editors. However, it is hoped that eventually publication will be made, and the editors are working toward that end. Until such a time as publication can be made, the editors believe that they can render a service to scholars in the field by building up a depository to which the latter can contribute, and, equally important, from which they can seek information. Scholars are thus urged to submit entries to the project and to use the depository as a means of solving their own vocabulary problems.

In general, all neologisms and coinages of Latin literature written between 1400 and 1600 are possible entries. Neologisms are to be defined as words or expressions used in a new sense; i.e., in a sense not noted in lexicons of earlier periods. Coinages are to be defined as words or expressions which have never existed before in any sense. The latter includes words or expressions coined "ex Graeco fonte." In addition, the following types of entries will be accepted: A. orthographical variants; B. "verba incerti sensus"; C. proper names Latinized during the

American Classical League Service Bureau [out of print]).

The files of CW and other periodicals will furnish a mine of invaluable information. I have already mentioned some of the CW survey articles on the literature about particular authors and topics; the other survey articles should also be consulted. On two recent standard works see also the review articles by A. S. Pease and S. Dow on *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, CW 44 (1950-51) 225-254, and by S. Dow on the third edition of J. A. Nairn's *Classical Hand-List* in CW 48 (1954-55) 1-8. We shall doubtless find much of value in a work I have not yet seen, M. Platnauer (ed.), *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954), listed in CW 48 (1954-55). 86.

period; i.e., place names, but not names of persons.

Each contribution should be entered on a 4 x 6 card, with the following information: A. the entry in an uninflected form; B. the suggested meaning, or, if none is known, a notation to that effect; C. the source of the entry (author, title, imprint, volume, page); D. the context in which the entry appears; E. any subsequent uses of the word, if known, with their sources and contexts; F. the date on which the entry is submitted; G. the name and initials of the person submitting the entry.

All entries should be submitted to Professor Paul W. Blackford, Western Illinois State College, Macomb, Illinois.

The Editorial Committee consists of Richard T. Bruère, University of Chicago; Fred W. Householder, Jr., Indiana Univ.; James R. Naiden, Seattle University; Paul W. Blackford, Western Illinois State College.

PAUL W. BLACKFORD
(for the Editorial Committee)

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REVIEWS

Troy: Excavations Conducted by the University of Cincinnati, 1932-38. By CARL W. BLEGEN, JOHN L. CASKEY, and MARION RAWSON. Volume III: The Sixth Settlement. Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati, 1953. Part 1: Text, pp. xxix, 418; Part 2: Plates, pp. xxxv; 512 illustrations. \$36.00.

This third part of the projected four-volume report of the University of Cincinnati Excavations at Troy is devoted solely to Troy VI.¹ Every phase of the excavation is described and the objects found are catalogued in detail.

Troy VI, which covers the long period from the beginning of Middle Helladic in Greece to well into Late Helladic, ca. 1300 B.C., marks a definite break with the old native traditions of the Early Bronze Age. The people who first brought this new culture to Troy were evidently a branch of the people who invaded the Greek

mainland at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. Although the two branches developed along divergent lines dependent on the influence of the surviving earlier populations, the relations of Troy VI continue to be with the west, and by the latter part of this long period (divided for convenience into 8 subperiods), peaceful trading contacts were close with mainland Greece, Crete, and Cyprus, to judge from the quantity of imported material and local imitations. No Hittite objects, however, have been found, and there is no sure information regarding possible Central Anatolian connections at this period, as has sometimes been claimed.

Troy VI, like Troy II, is the seat of a ruler and his court. Unlike the preceding humble settlements, Troy is now a royal stronghold of great vigor, power, and economic prosperity, based on agriculture and control of trade routes by land and by sea. Although Troy VI traded and imitated objects of the Mycenaean *koine*, it remained independent, different from the Mycenaean world in cults and culture.

One of the most striking of the changes from preceding cultures is in architecture, characterized by a powerful fortification wall of more ordered masonry, with shallow offsets at regular intervals on the outside, and by spacious freestanding buildings of simple plan, massive stone foundations, and interior columns on stone bases, laid out on concentric terraces rising toward the center of the citadel, seat of the King's palace. Entrances are frequently on the long side and it is questionable whether the true megaron existed in Troy VI.

Further changes: cremation burials with inhumation of infants; bronze has displaced copper, implements more diversified; stone artifacts include survivals, but marble sword-pommels suggest Mycenaean and perhaps Anatolian influence; new types of whetstones and weights; new materials: steatite (for pyramidal weights), paste, ivory (from Mycenaean world); terracotta ovoid pointed missiles; pyramidal loom weights; and different spindle whorls now undecorated. In pottery, a few survivals, but new wares and shapes the rule. Gray Minyan the ware throughout Troy VI, also Red washed and Tan of comparable shapes and method of production, as well as imported LII I, II, and IIIA, and local imitations. Finally, an innovation of far-reaching significance, the horse.

The high standard of careful observation, accurate recording, and thorough description (by word, photograph, and drawing) set in the

1. [*Troy, I-II* (Princeton 1950-51) were reviewed by Dr. Shoe in CW 46 (1952-53) 54-56; J. L. Angel, *Troy: The Human Remains* (*Troy*, Supplementary Monograph 1), by Rev. J. F. Ewing, S. J., CW 45 (1951-52) 142. —Ed.]

earlier volumes is maintained. Conclusions are drawn from the evidence judiciously without "conjectures, theories, and speculations" and are summarized conveniently.

LUCY T. SHOE

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The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries. By R. R. BOLGAR. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954. Pp. vii, 592. \$8.50.

This is the third elaborate work in English to trace the intellectual heritage of the Greeks and Romans through the Middle Ages and Renaissance and, like its predecessors, Sandys' *A History of Classical Scholarship* and Highet's *The Classical Tradition*, it is beautifully written and is a most impressive synthesis of bibliographical research. Dr. Bolgar's approach is a new one, focusing main attention upon the educational backgrounds of each age — the extent of the knowledge of classical authors, the availability of their works, the manner in which they were interpreted, the methods of instruction in schools, the intellectual level of the élite, and the degrees of literacy among the lower classes. His evidence is gathered from extensive reading of original works, including many little-known authors, and a perusal of reference works, especially bibliographical studies and library catalogues.

Dr. Bolgar never gives an impression of straining to champion the importance of classical influences; rather, he approaches his subject with objectivity and consequently his views are often fresh and at variance with those of scholars who have been influenced by their love of the classics. He feels that too much importance has been attached to the manuscript-hunting of the Humanists, that most of the works they have been credited with discovering were known to scholars in the Middle Ages, and that the invention of printing was responsible for making the results of the Humanists' researches lasting (pp. 262-263). He also doubts that the introduction of Greek studies had much influence upon the intellectual revolution of the Renaissance. A few Greek writers had long been known in the West through Latin translations; most Greek authors could not have found a wide circle of readers until translations appeared, and most of the translations date from the second half of the

fifteenth century. Dr. Bolgar concludes that "the new Greek learning could not have made much impact before 1480" (pp. 279-280). It is also mistaken to suppose that Petrarch was trying to copy Cicero's style exactly. Why should Petrarch have failed when a present-day undergraduate can imitate Cicero more closely (pp. 266-267)?

The concluding chapter strikes some melancholy notes, such as the guess of some people that the passing of another fifty years will see Greek and Latin disappear from the secondary curriculum in Britain. Dr. Bolgar asks why the classical discipline should continue to influence our way of living as it has since the eighth century and replies to his question with some cogent reasons. But I am afraid that social scientists in the United States would not be receptive to his suggestions (pp. 385-386) about the excellent opportunities that classical civilization affords for cultural comparisons with contemporary civilizations. Our sociologists and anthropologists have abandoned classical civilization as the precinct of professional classicists, as they have abandoned the study of the principal linguistic families to the philologist. Thus, arbitrarily, Ethiopic belongs to the philologist and Eskimo and Hopi belong to the linguistic anthropologist. The anthropologist could find just as vital and valid bases of cultural comparisons in Pliny the Elder and Marcellus Empiricus as he would find among the Trobriand Islanders. Anthropologists are familiar with the flaws in Sir James G. Frazer's methods but no one of them could begin to approach his control of the literature of the ages. Perhaps the way to fill this need would be to have graduate students in the classics specialize in anthropological research and carry on the traditions of Lang, Farnell, and Frazer.

Two valuable appendixes (pp. 455-541) listing Greek manuscripts in Italy during the fifteenth century and the translations of Greek and Roman classical authors before 1600 help to make this volume an outstanding contribution to scholarship.

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C. A. A. S. SPRING MEETING

The full program of the spring meeting of the C.A.A.S., to be held at the University of Pittsburgh, April 29-30, 1955, may be found at pp. 95-98 of the February 28th issue. We are advised that the tea for members and guests on Friday afternoon is sponsored by the Humanities Society of the University and will be held on the twelfth floor of the Cathedral of Learning.

BOOKS RECEIVED

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS.
The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations.
Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies
at Athens, 1954. Pp. 110; 19 figs in text; 8 plates; 1
plan. \$1.00.

Compiled by Mabel Lang and C. W. E. Eliot. Foreword
by Homer A. Thompson.

BOAK, ARTHUR E. R. *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.*
4th ed. New York: Macmillan, 1955. Pp. xiii, 569; ill.;
maps. \$6.00.

BRONEER, OSCAR. *Corinth: Results of Excavations Con-*
ducted by the American School of Classical Studies at
Athens. Vol. I, Pt. IV: The South Stoa and Its Roman
Successors. Princeton, N. J.: American School of
Classical Studies at Athens, 1954. Pp. xix, 167; frontis-
piece; 67 figs. in text; 54 plates; 22 plans. \$15.00.

BROWNE, R. A. (ed.). *British Latin Selections, A. D.*
500-1400. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954. Pp. lxi, 144.
32s.

EASTON, STEWART C. *The Heritage of the Past: From the*
Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Ages. New
York: Rinehart, 1955. Pp. xx, 795; ill.; maps. \$6.00.

HERRICK, MARVIN T. *Tragicomedies: Its Origin and De-*
velopment in Italy, France, and England ("[Univer-
sity of] Illinois Studies in Language and Literature,"
Vol. 39.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955.
Pp. vii, 331. No price stated.

HILTBRUNNER, OTTO, HILDEGARDE KORNHARDT, and
FRANZ TIETZE (eds.). *Thesaurismata: Festschrift für*
Ida Kapp zum 70. Geburtstag. Munich: C. H. Beck,
1954. Pp. iii, 168. DM 12.

Contents: W.-H. Friedrich, "Caesar und sein Glück";
K. von Fritz, "Hoper saphestatê pistis" [Thuc. 1.35.5];
P. Geissler, "Lancicula satura" [Ciris 79; Cratinus
Archilochoi frg. 1 Mein. (1 Kock); Aristoph. Av. 815
f.; Plato Com., frg. 1 Mein. (183 Kock)]; O. Hilt-
brunner, "Dicta Scipionis"; H. Kornhardt, "Restitutio
in integrum bei Terenz"; G. Meyer, "Der Codex Feschi-
anus Heinsii zu Ovids *Ep. ex Ponto*"; R. Pfeiffer, "Mor-
gendämmerung" [Callim. *Hecale*, frg. 260 ed. Pfeiffer];
B. Snell, "Zur Geschichte vom Gastmahl der Sieben
Weisen"; W. Theiler, "Noch einmal die Dichter der
Ilias"; F. Tietze, "Zur attractio inversa im Lateinischen."

LATTIMORE, RICHMOND, REX WARNER, RALPH GLAD-
STONE, and DAVID GRENE (trs.). *Euripides, Alcestis*
[Lattimore], *Medea* [Warner], *Heracleidae* [Glad-
stone], *Hippolytus* [Grene]. ("The Complete Greek
Tragedies.") Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
1955. Pp. ix, 221, \$3.75.

PLACE, ROBIN. *Down to Earth: A Practical Guide to*
Archaeology. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955.
Pp. xvi, 173; 88 ill. \$7.50.

The material is largely drawn from British prehistory.

STANFORD, W. B. *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the*
Adaptability of a Traditional Hero. Oxford: Basil
Blackwell; New York: Macmillan, 1954. Pp. x, 292.
31s. 6d. (\$5.00).

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